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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Disarmament

There is attached as Annex A for your approval a revision of paragraph 8 of the June 11 policy paper on disarmament which reflects your decision on August 9, 1957 regarding an extension to 24 months of the nuclear weapons test suspension.

On the basis of Secretary Dulles' recent consultations in London and further discussions within the Government, I am also prepared to recommend several additional changes in the June 11 policy directive as follows:

1. With regard to Paragraph 7, relating to transfers of nuclear weapons and fissionable materials to other countries, delete the initial phrase "From the effective date of the agreement" and substitute the phrase "From the date of the cessation of production of fissionable material for weapons purposes". Since the reason for prohibition of transfer of fissionable material between countries is to enforce the cut-off of production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, it seems unnecessary, and undesirable from the standpoint of relations with our principal allies, to prohibit such transfers prior to the cut-off date. I recommend in paragraph 7(b) the deletion of "peaceful purposes" and substitution of "non-weapons purposes" to make clear that fissionable material could be transferred to other states for such purposes as fuel for submarine propulsion reactors. I would also propose in paragraph 7 (b) the insertion of the word "otherwise" to make the obligations assumed with respect to fissionable materials consistent with those applicable to nuclear weapons. The revised paragraph would read:

> "Each party agrees not <u>otherwise</u> to transfer out of its control any fissionable material or to accept transfer to it of such material, except for <u>non-weapons</u> purposes".

2. The formula on use of nuclear weapons in paragraph 4 of the June 11 policy directive is considered by some of the Western delegations

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as too restrictive. Accordingly, I propose the deletion of paragraph 4 of the June 11 policy directive, except for the parenthetical note at the end, and would substitute the following formula:

> "Each party assumes an obligation not to use nuclear weapons if an armed attack has not placed the party in a situation of individual or collective self-defense."

3. Because of the practical difficulties involved, it is recommended that the proposed Board of Control of the International Control Organ have authority only to study a system for regulating the export and import of armaments rather than to establish such a system. Accordingly, I suggest that paragraph 1h (b) of the June 11 policy directive be amended to read as follows:

> "to study a system for regulating the export and import of armaments."

Secretary Wilson and Chairman Strauss concur in these recommendations.

Attachment:

Annex A

S/AE:VBaker:bp
8/13/57

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